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Sen Leahy
OCA 88-3998

15 December 1988

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Director

FROM: John L. Helgerson
Director of Congressional AffairsSUBJECT: 16 December Meeting with Senator Patrick Leahy
(D., VT.)

1. Senator Patrick Leahy has requested a brief meeting with you prior to his [redacted]

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[redacted] briefings on Egypt and Israel.

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Senator Leahy will be traveling to those two countries in early January. I will join you in this meeting. Senator Leahy will meet with Dick Stolz after your session. [redacted]

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2. The Senator's visit to Egypt and Israel will be his first act as new Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee's Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. That Subcommittee has jurisdiction over all foreign aid programs. Senator Leahy is former Vice Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and serves on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee which has jurisdiction over our budget. [redacted]

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3. Senator Leahy's staff says that he wishes to discuss two subjects with you:

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4. In addition to the talking points, you may wish to say that you understand key topics the analysts will cover in his briefings include our latest information on [redacted] reaction to the US decision to agree to enter into direct discussions with the PLO; Egyptian efforts to cope with [redacted]

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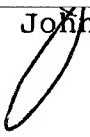
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severe economic problems without creating political instability, and status of negotiations to form a new Israeli government.

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5. Since Senator Leahy serves on the Appropriations Committee, you may wish to make the basic point to him that we will need his support for our intelligence budget proposals in order to meet the increasing challenges facing the Intelligence Community such as arms control monitoring and support for narcotics interdiction.

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John L. Helgeson

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Talking Points for DCI
16 December Meeting with
Senator Leahy, (D., VT)

SUBJECT: Talking Points for DCI 16 December 1988 Meeting with
Senator Patrick Leahy (D., VT), Chairman of the
Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the Senate
Appropriations Committee

1. There are two issues concerning Israel and Egypt which
may be of interest to Senator Leahy in connection with his
trip. Talking points on these issues follow.

2. Talking Point - Israel.

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3. Talking Point - Egypt.

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Vermont - Junior Senator

Patrick J. Leahy (D)

Of Middlesex — Elected 1974

Born: March 31, 1940, Montpelier, Vt.

Education: St. Michael's College, B.A. 1961; Georgetown U., J.D. 1964.

Occupation: Lawyer.

Family: Wife, Marcelle Pomerleau; three children.

Religion: Roman Catholic.

Political Career: Chittenden County state's attorney, 1967-75.

Capitol Office: 433 Russell Bldg. 20510; 224-4242.



In Washington: Leahy's term as vice chairman of the Intelligence Committee in the 99th Congress seemed at times to produce a change not only in his interests but in his style. Under the glare of television lights, his affable, unpretentious nature appeared to yield to a more confrontational, publicity-conscious approach to his job.

Now that he is no longer on Intelligence, and busy with his duties as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, Leahy may reflect more of the unassuming charm that long made him one of the Senate's most likable members. He will need all of his collegial skills and soft-spoken common sense if he is to succeed at balancing the regional and commodity interests that combine in the writing of farm legislation.

On the other hand, soybeans and milk may be a little boring to Leahy after the heady brew of spies and counterspies. As the leading Democrat on Intelligence, Leahy had access to information available to only a handful of other officials in the government. At a time of intense controversy over intelligence issues — a string of spy scandals and the Iran-contra affair, among other events — Leahy's position made him one of the most sought-after politicians in Washington, pursued by reporters each time he emerged from committee meetings and much in demand as a guest on television talks shows.

Leahy seemed particularly entranced by the "tradcrafft" of intelligence — the sophisticated electronic gear and elaborate procedures designed to protect vital information from disclosure. To the consternation of committee security officers, he once led a press tour of the panel's hearing room, which features a complex array of anti-snooping systems. "We've had to set up a special procedure just to go to the bathroom," he said, revealing that he was one of the select few to receive such closely guarded information.

One of Leahy's prime concerns on the

committee was in ferreting out Soviet spies in the United States. Convinced that many such spies were working under diplomatic cover, he and Maine Republican William S. Cohen pushed hard for an amendment limiting the number of Soviet diplomats in this country to the number of American diplomats in the Soviet Union. Leahy's efforts frequently brought him into sharp conflict with the State Department, which he felt was too protective of Soviet officials. "There are times I wonder whether the State Department is working on our side or on the Soviets' side," he once said.

Leahy also used his Intelligence post to mount broader attacks on the whole course of the Reagan foreign policy. He has been particularly outspoken in fighting aid to the contra rebels of Nicaragua — a subject he has been involved with since well before it became a central item on the Washington agenda.

Leahy visited Central America in 1983, hinting upon his return that the administration was violating the law by trying to overthrow the Nicaraguan regime. But, except for Democrat Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware, Leahy found few allies on the Intelligence Committee. But after the 1984 revelation that the CIA had backed the mining of Nicaraguan harbors, Leahy picked up more support from committee Democrats. By year's end, Congress voted to cut off the aid at least temporarily.

Although Leahy could do little to halt the resumption of open military aid to the contras in 1986, he used his position on Intelligence to press for information about the role of the CIA and other administration agencies in arranging covert aid to the contras in defiance of the ban. Arguing that U.S. intelligence should focus on the issues of arms control and terrorism, Leahy offered an August 1986 amendment to bar the CIA from involvement with aid to the contras.

Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt.

It was killed by a 57-42 vote, however.

An ardent supporter of arms control agreements, Leahy also has been concerned with maintaining U.S. observance of the SALT II treaty with the Soviet Union. He and Arkansas Democrat Dale Bumpers led Senate forces pressing the administration to continue to comply with the pact, which Reagan abandoned in 1986.

Leahy did not completely ignore farm issues during his first two terms in the Senate, but neither, with one or two exceptions, did he devote much energy or attention to them. Like Vermont's farmers, he has shown little interest in the major commodity crops — corn, wheat and soybeans — that are the focus of most agricultural debates.

But Leahy has worked hard over the years to aid dairy farming, which dominates Vermont's agriculture. His disputes with the administration over dairy issues began almost as soon as Reagan was inaugurated — Leahy strongly opposed the new administration's request for a cancellation in the scheduled increase in dairy prices in 1981. In 1983, he backed a controversial bill to pay dairymen for reducing production. Although the administration was sharply critical of the bill, Reagan eventually signed it.

Leahy also played a key role in writing the section of the 1985 farm bill that created a new industry-backed program of dairy supports. Known as the "whole herd buy-out," the program provided payments to milk producers who sent their entire herds to slaughter. The idea was to reduce milk production and so cut costly government purchases of dairy surpluses.

Leahy also has worked on the Agriculture Committee to hold off efforts to make severe cuts in the food stamp program. Working closely with Nutrition Subcommittee Chairman Robert Dole of Kansas, he came up with a series of moderate reductions in food stamp spending that headed off a more draconian package of cuts sponsored by full committee Chairman Jesse Helms of North Carolina.

Preoccupied with intelligence and dairy issues, Leahy had little time to focus on Judiciary in the 99th Congress. His one significant issue on the panel was in extending privacy guarantees to cellular phones and other new forms of electronic communications. Although he sometimes irritated other committee members with the blustery manner in which he pushed the subject, he managed to play a key role in passage of an electronic privacy bill in 1986.

In earlier years, Leahy followed a bipartisan approach on the committee. In the 97th

Congress, for example, he joined with Republican Paul Laxalt of Nevada in pushing a bill to reform the federal government's regulatory process. After lengthy negotiations, the two Judiciary Committee members came up with a compromise bill that passed the Senate unanimously. It would have imposed cost-benefit analysis on new federal rules and given Congress more say in their approval. But the bill never passed the House.

Leahy may find himself in much sharper partisan conflict with Judiciary Republicans, in the 100th Congress, however. He heads an informal panel of committee Democrats charged with reviewing all administration judicial selections, which could lead him into a renewal of the bitter nomination fights that divided the committee in recent years.

At Home: Though polls throughout Leahy's second term showed him to be popular in Vermont, Republican officials looked forward to taking him on in 1986. Since he had won narrowly in 1980 over an upstart GOP challenger, Leahy was viewed as the most vulnerable Democratic incumbent running in 1986. Republican morale was boosted by the recruitment of former Gov. Richard A. Snelling to run against Leahy. Snelling retired in 1985 after four terms as a popular chief executive.

But the expected "battle of the titans" failed to develop. Well-prepared and well-financed, Leahy defeated Snelling in a landslide, carrying 63 percent of the vote.

After being criticized for the low profile he maintained in his first term, Leahy made certain, with newsletters and press releases, that his constituents would know about his activities. As the ranking Democrat on Senate Intelligence, he was often visible in Vermont through his national TV appearances.

Leahy also had a strong organizational edge. By fall 1985, Leahy had a grass-roots network in place, and the \$250,000 he had raised at that point sent a signal that this would be Vermont's most expensive race.

Meanwhile, Snelling spent much of 1985 on an Atlantic sailing excursion. Several key Republicans, including President Reagan, finally convinced him his candidacy was crucial to maintaining the Senate majority.

A late start was not Snelling's only problem. He was bucking Vermont's pro-incumbent tradition; some Vermonters expressed anger at Snelling for forcing them to choose between two popular figures. This attitude helped Leahy to large leads in early polls, which in turn hurt Snelling's efforts to raise funds.

But Snelling's biggest handicap was likely the lack of political distance between him and

Vermont - Junior Senator

Leahy, Snelling, a Republican moderate, held similar positions to Leahy on many issues. His efforts to run as a Reaganite did not ring true; as governor, he was a sharp critic of Reagan's federal budget priorities. Snelling resorted to attacking Leahy's attendance record and labeling the incumbent as one of the Senate's "biggest spenders." Not only was the strategy ineffective, it also enabled Leahy to accuse Snelling of negative campaigning.

Leahy's victory was sweeping. He carried Chittenden County by 2-to-1, taking 75 percent of the vote in his home city of Burlington and 59 percent in Shelburne, Snelling's hometown. Leahy also won 10 of the other 12 counties.

Leahy now has enjoyed two decades as a Democratic officeholder in a traditionally Republican state. He was elected as Chittenden County state's attorney in 1967, when he was just 26 years old. He revamped the office and headed a national task force of district attorneys probing the 1973-74 energy crisis.

In 1974, Leahy decided to run for the Senate seat being vacated by Republican George D. Aiken. At 34, Leahy was still a little

young to replace an 82-year-old political institution, but he was already balding and graying, and looked older than he was.

Leahy was an underdog in 1974 against U.S. Rep. Richard W. Mallary. But Mallary turned out to be a rather awkward campaigner, and Watergate had made Vermont more receptive to voting Democratic than it had been in modern times, enabling Leahy to win narrowly.

Leahy survived in 1980 by emphasizing his roots in the state rather than his roots in the Democratic Party. Campaigning against the national Republican tide, he fought off a New York-born GOP challenger with the slogan: "Pat Leahy: Of Vermont. For Vermont."

It took all the ingenuity Leahy could summon to overcome the challenge from Stewart Ledbetter, former state banking and insurance commissioner. With financial help from national Republican groups, Ledbetter sought to convince voters that Leahy was a free-spender and weak on defense. His aggressive campaign helped him close the gap, and Reagan's coattails almost carried him to victory. Leahy was able to hang on, but by less than 3,000 votes.

Committees

Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry (Chairman)

Appropriations (9th of 16 Democrats)

Defense: Foreign Operations; HUD-Independent Agencies; Interior and Related Agencies.

Judiciary (6th of 8 Democrats)

Technology and the Law (chairman); Patents, Copyrights and Trademarks.

Elections**1986 General**

Patrick J. Leahy (D)	124,123	(63%)
Richard A. Snelling (R)	67,798	(35%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (50%) 1974 (50%)

Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs		Expenditures
1986				
Leahy (D)	\$1,919,740	\$822,931 (43%)		\$1,705,099
Snelling (R)	\$1,495,491	\$258,377 (17%)		\$1,502,304

Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1986	24	70	83	11	21	75
1985	29	68	83	16	27	73
1984	30	62	85	11	15	77
1983	41	58	89	10	18	82
1982	37	62	91	9	12	88
1981	34	60	76	8	4	84

S = Support O = Opposition

Key Votes

Produce MX missiles (1985)	N
Weaken gun control laws (1985)	Y
Reject school prayer (1985)	Y
Limit textile imports (1985)	Y
Amend Constitution to require balanced budget (1986)	N
Aid Nicaraguan contras (1986)	N
Block chemical weapons production (1986)	Y
Impose sanctions on South Africa (1986)	Y

Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACU	AFL-CIO	CCUS
1986	85	9	87	29
1985	70	13	86	41
1984	95	10	91	35
1983	85	4	88	32
1982	90	20	92	45
1981	95	0	89	6